

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 047405
ORIGIN SS-25

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DRAFTED BY INR/RNA/NE: S J ROBERTS

APPROVED BY NEA: W BRUBECK

INR/RNA: P H STODDARD

S/S-O: S VALERGA

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 047405

EXDIS FOR ATHERTON, USDEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, XF, EG, IS

SUBJECT: BEGIN STATEMENTS ON UNSC 242

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THE FOLLOWING IS THE RESULT OF INR'S RESEARCH ON BEGIN'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE MEANING OF UNSC 242 AT TIME OF GAHAL'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GOVERNMENT IN SUMMER 1970. (GAHAL WITHDREW ON AUGUST 4, 1970); AND SINCE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LIKUD GOVERNMENT. THE RECORD OF BEGIN'S STATEMENTS SEEMS TO US TO DEMONSTRATE THAT BEGIN UNDERSTOOD THAT 242 WAS APPLICABLE TO THE WEST BANK, AS WELL AS TO THE OTHER TWO FRONTS. YOU MAY USE THIS MATERIAL AS YOU SEE FIT IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ISRAELIS REGARDING 242.

1. MANY OF BEGIN'S COMMENTS IN THE SUMMER OF 1970 WERE
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ADDRESSED TO THE ROGERS INITIATIVE, RATHER THAN RESOLUTION 242 AS SUCH. THE ROGERS PROPOSALS WERE BASED ON 242. BEGIN'S CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE ROGERS PROPOSALS APPLIED ESSENTIALLY TO THE FACT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS THEREBY ACCEPTING 242, TO WHICH HE WAS ADAMANTLY OPPOSED. (IN THE PERIOD SUBSEQUENT TO TEKOA'S MAY 1, 1968 STATEMENT THAT ISRAEL ACCEPTED 242,

GAHAL ARGUED THAT TEKOA'S STATEMENT WAS NOT BINDING ON ISRAEL AS THE GOI NEVER FORMALLY ACCEPTED 242.)
THE ROGERS PROPOSALS READ AS FOLLOWS:

...

THE UNITED STATES PUTS FORWARD THE FOLLOWING PROPOSAL FOR CONSIDERATION: (A) THAT BOTH ISRAEL AND THE U.A.R. SUBSCRIBE TO A RESTORATION OF THE CEASEFIRE FOR AT LEAST A LIMITED PERIOD; (B) THAT ISRAEL AND THE U.A.R. (AS WELL AS ISRAEL AND JORDAN) SUBSCRIBE TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WHICH WOULD BE IN THE FORM OF A REPORT FROM AMBASSADOR JARRING TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, U THANT:

THE U.A.R. (JORDAN) AND ISRAEL ADVISE ME THAT THEY AGREE:

(A) THAT HAVING ACCEPTED AND INDICATED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO CARRY OUT RESOLUTION 242 IN ALL ITS PARTS, THEY WILL DESIGNATE REPRESENTATIVES TO DISCUSSIONS TO BE HELD UNDER MY AUSPICES, ACCORDING TO SUCH PROCEDURE, AND AT SUCH PLACES AND TIMES AS I MAY RECOMMEND, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT AS APPROPRIATE EACH SIDE'S PREFERENCE AS TO METHOD OF PROCEDURE AND PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES;

(B) THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE AFOREMENTIONED DISCUSSIONS
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IS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE BETWEEN THEM BASED ON (1) MUTUAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BY THE U.A.R. (JORDAN) AND ISRAEL OF EACH OTHER'S SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, AND (2) ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE 1967 CONFLICT, BOTH IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 242;

(C) THAT, TO FACILITATE MY TASK OF PROMOTING AGREEMENT AS SET FORTH IN RESOLUTION 242, THE PARTIES WILL STRICTLY OBSERVE, EFFECTIVE JULY 1 UNTIL (AT LEAST) OCTOBER 1, THE CEASEFIRE RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL."

2. AUGUST 1, 1970, RADIO INTERVIEW (JERUSALEM DOMESTIC SERVICE), BEGIN SAID: "I HAVE CHARGED THAT THE INITIATIVE, ACCORDING TO ITS CONTENTS, ACTUALLY COERCES US TO WITHDRAW TO BORDERS VERY CLOSE TO THOSE OF JUNE 4, 1967.... SUDDENLY, AND FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE 6-DAY WAR, THERE IS -- OR I ASSUME THERE WILL BE -- A CLEAR UNDERTAKING FOR THE STATE OF ISRAEL TO AGREE TO THE REPARTITION OF THE LAND OF ISRAEL. WE OPPOSE SUCH REPARTITION...WE NEVER IMAGINED THAT AFTER JUDEA AND

SAMARIA CAME UNDER JEWISH RULE, WE WOULD ANNOUNCE THAT WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO THEM AND UNDERTAKE TO HAND THEM TO HUSAYN. THIS IS SIMPLY INCONCEIVABLE. CONSEQUENTLY, IF THERE IS SUCH A CLEAR UNDERTAKING, THE OBVIOUS CONCLUSION IS THAT WE MUST LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT BECAUSE

WE CAN IN NO WAY ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUCH A DECISION AND UNDERTAKING."

3. BEGIN STATEMENT OF AUGUST 4, 1970, QUOTED IN HAARETZ, AUGUST 5: "THE MOMENT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT PLEDGES TO CARRY OUT THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE TERRITORIES, THERE WILL BE NO ESCAPE FROM THE FOLLOWING RESULT: THE ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER WILL NOT SIT WITH THE EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
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BUT WITH DR. JARRING. AS FOR THE PROMISED TALKS, DR. JARRING WILL HAVE IN HIS HANDS A CLEAR ANSWER REGARDING THE TERRITORIAL MAP -- THE JUNE 4, 1967 LINES.... NOW THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT IS JOINTLY SIGNING THIS DOCUMENT WITH JORDAN, IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO CLAIM THAT ISRAEL RECOGNIZES JUDEA AND SAMARIA AS A CAPTURED AREA AND THAT ISRAEL AGREES TO DELIVER IT TO HUSAYN."

4. BEGIN STATEMENT ON AUGUST 3, 1970, TO GAHAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING, QUOTED IN THE JERUSALEM POST, AUGUST 4, 1970: "WHAT THIS MEANT (I.E., THE GOVERNMENT'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE ROGERS PROPOSAL) WAS THAT ISRAEL WOULD AGREE TO HAND SAMARIA AND JUDEA BACK TO HUSSEIN, AND ARAFAT AND HABASH WILL FOLLOW ON HUSSEIN'S HEELS."

5. BEGIN ADDRESS ON AUGUST 2, 1970, AT INAUGURAL CEREMONY OF THE JABOTINSKY MUSEUM, QUOTED IN THE JERUSALEM POST, AUGUST 3, 1970: BEGIN REFERRED TO THE GOVERNMENT'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE ROGERS PROPOSALS AS "A FATAL MISTAKE." HE ASKED "HOW CAN WE BE FALSE TO OUR ANCIENT HERITAGE? HOW CAN WE REPARTITION OUR ANCIENT HOMELAND? HOW CAN WE SIGN A PROMISSORY NOTE TO HAND OVER OUR HOMELAND TO FOREIGN RULERS?"

6. THE BASIC GUIDELINES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, AS PRESENTED TO THE KNESSET ON JUNE 20, STATED: "THE GOVERNMENT DECLARES ITS READINESS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IF AND WHEN IT SHALL BE CONVENED BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ON THE BASIS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 AND 338." EMBASSY TEL AVIV COMMENTED IN A CABLE OF JUNE 23, 1977 (TEL AVIV 4569): "THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S BASIC GUIDELINES AND DAYAN'S JUNE 20 KNESSET STATEMENT LEAVE AN AMBIGUITY IN ISRAEL'S POSITION RE UNSC RESOLUTION 242. IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER ISRAEL ACCEPTS THE SUBSTANCE OF THAT RESOLUTION INCLUDING THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL WITHDRAWAL OR
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AGREES ONLY TO ATTEND A RECONVENED GENEVA CONFERENCE UPON RECEIVING A US/USSR INVITATION BASED ON RESOLUTIONS 242/338.... POLITICAL COMMENTATORS HERE HAVE NOTED THE UNRESOLVED AMBIGUITY BETWEEN DAYEN'S INTERPRETATION CONFIDENTIAL AND THE WORDING OF GUIDELINE (G) WHICH SIMPLY SAYS THAT ISRAEL IS READY TO ATTEND A GENEVA CONFERENCE IF AND WHEN THE US AND USSR CONVENE IT ON THE BASIS OF 242 AND 338, BUT DOES NOT SAY THAT ISRAEL ACCEPTS THE CONTENT OF THESE RESOLUTIONS."

7. BEGIN, IN A JUNE 23, 1977 INTERVIEW CARRIED BY THE JERUSALEM DOMESTIC SERVICE, STATED: "I WANT TO EXPLAIN TODAY THAT IN INSISTING ON OUR RIGHT TO ERETZ YISRAEL WE ABSOLUTELY DO NOT FIND ANY CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THIS INSISTENCE AND INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS, INCLUDING RESOLUTION 242."

8. BEGIN, IN A JANUARY 23, 1978 ADDRESS TO THE KNESSET STATED: "AS FOR WITHDRAWAL, NOTHING IN 242 OBLIGES US TO WITHDRAW TO THE LINES OF JUNE 4, 1967..." BEGIN ALSO DECLARED:

"GENTLEMEN, MEMBERS OF THE KNESSET, I WILL READ THE DRAFT OF THE DECLARATIONS, THE CONTENTS OF WHICH WERE TOTALLY AGREED UPON BY BOTH THE ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN DELEGATIONS AT ISMAILIA. AFTER A PREAMBLE, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORT TO REACH A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE REGION. TWO, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SUCH A SETTLEMENT, THEY EXPRESS THEIR WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE PEACE TREATIES ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES ENVISAGED IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 AND 338. THREE, THE TWO SIDES AGREE THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST, LASTING PEACE REQUIRES THE FULFILLMENT OF THE FOLLOWING: TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE
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WITH RESOLUTION 242 -- A) WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL ARMED FORCES FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE 1967 CONFLICT; B) TERMINATION OF ALL CLAIMS OF STATES OF BELLIGERENCY ETC. ...AS I SAID, THIS WAS THE JOINT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF BOTH DELEGATIONS AND IT WAS ENDORSED BY BOTH." VANCE

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FOL RPT STATE 047405 ACTION CAIRO INFO JERUSALEM TEL AVIV
23 FEB 78 QUOTE

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WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE PEACE TREATIES ON THE BASIS OF
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UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

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Concepts: RESOLUTION 242, BRIEFING MATERIALS
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Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 feb 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
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Secure: OPEN
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TAGS: PINT, XF, EG, IS, UNSC, (BEGIN, MENAHEM)
To: CAIRO
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